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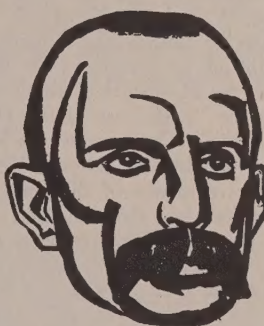
FIVE CENTS



Sacco - Vanzetti

Salute to

Liberals



Pale friends, who neither hate nor love
in an opaque twilight
fringing Life—
Here is the red goblet of my heart . . .
drink deep, nor shudder o'er the bitter taste—
That is the salt of unshed tears
which makes it strong—
Cup it in your two white hands,
and quaff it down . . .
Feel it pounding in your pulse, which
never leaped before—
surging through your veins—throbbing
in your throat?
Now hate and love . . . thrill to
a Cause—
Be a little mad—nor shame
the red wine spilled with prodigal gesture
that you might wholly live.

GRACE KEMMERLING WELLINGTON

The American Workers and the Sacco-Vanzetti Case

FIVE YEARS have passed since our comrades Sacco and Vanzetti were forced to complete the circuit to the tune of rank prejudice and injustice, to satisfy the barbarian judges, governors, scholars, lawyers, and other scoundrels of this "land of the free." Seven years of persecution, inquisitorial cross-examinations, investigations and inhuman treatment, seemed insufficient for the innocent men, to the ironically called, "justice" Thayer. Testimony by the Italian consulate of Boston and numerous customers of the poor fish peddler, that they could not be present at the Braintree Robbery of April 15, 1920, were swept aside by bloodthirsty reactionaries, who were engaged, at the time in wiping out the "Reds," or as the Honorable Justice Thayer put it, the "anarchist bastards." The treacherous betrayal of the "impartial" court interpreter, of their bought-over lawyers, Vahey and Graham, plus the contradictory and perjurious evidence of dishonest witnesses, would have been due cause for an acquittal, had they not been radicals.

Sacco and Vanzetti were not fooled by the outer cloak of formality put on by the court, or by the apparent liberality of Governor Fuller. Time and again they told their friends and comrades and well-wishers that they would never be free, for they were able to see clearly the nature of the case. While the outside world tried not to see the inevitable outcome, the two doomed men faced their fate like heroes.

They realized that they were convicted because of their ideas. They knew that all that they stood for—freedom, with its attendant equality, the abolition of government, the economic equality and security of all, the abolition of military force and the substitution for it of mutual and voluntary agreements between peoples—were as a red cloth before a bull, before the aristocrats of Massachusetts. They knew this, yet did not hesitate to speak plainly about their beliefs whenever the occasion arose. They knew full well the prejudices of the "pure" Americans of Massachusetts against foreigners, yet feared not to add to it the pure American's prejudice for radicals. And what radicals, too; anarchists, nothing less!

While those on the outside hoped that appeals to individuals might be of aid, Sacco and Vanzetti saw the class character of all the government officials who came in contact with the case. For even government officials are human, and here were two men, who would destroy them, appealing to them for aid.

No, get it straight. They did not appeal for themselves, their friends on the outside did. They knew they had no chance with the government, but they did think the workers would understand. The workers, for whom they had fought while they were free, the workers for whom they were ready to die in jail, surely the workers would take up the cudgels in their behalf. But the workers only crucified them. The great mass of workers in America, organized and unorganized, could not throw off their lethargy. In fact it was not even known to them until our European and South American comrades, a year before the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, began to protest violently. In

Argentina, a three-day general strike was declared; in France, the American Consulate was stoned; in all other countries constant and vigorous mass protests were held. All this demonstrated the effective expression of revolutionary mass labor movements, without which protests would have been of a bourgeois character, as in America, or completely subjugated, as in Fascist Italy.

The traitors at the head of the A. F. of L. refused to support the case: which means, in effect, that they too sanctioned and supported the Katzmans, Thayers, and Fullers throughout America. While the rest could not even take the initiative to overcome the splits in their ranks and present a solid front to capitalism. Consequently, the workers could not *demand* and *wrest* justice from a class and government that would be as putty in their hands were they but united; they could not stick together long enough to save two comrades, to prevent the placing of two more names on the long, long scroll of the martyrs.

And now we can only sit and think and blush, and blush for very shame at the role that we, the workers of America, have played in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

EDITORIALS

THAT THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL is trying to put another one over, by hiding behind two authors, Rolland and Barbusse, becomes obvious in the face of the latest development of the Anti-militarist Congress recently called for in Paris. For this Congress, all pacifists, christians, socialists, communists, syndicalists, anarchists, and all those who opposed war, were called upon to send delegates or make themselves heard in some way or other. Its original purpose was to oppose wars regardless of their nature or character. But what has happened? The whole appeal has become shrouded in mystery. Three times dates were set for the Congress, and three times were they retracted. Then, suddenly, the following agenda was released from Berlin:

1. War in China—intervention in Soviet Russia—world war.
2. Workers' attempt to oppose war.
3. Election of a permanent committee against war.
4. Choice of a manifesto.

It is not necessary to think twice to see the influence of Moscow. And, besides, one begins to wonder why this agenda came from Berlin when the International Bureau of the Congress is in Paris.

Again, if we examine further, we find under the heading of "Who is allowed to vote" this answer: all those who are opposed to *imperialist* wars. Does this mean that Russia, who has developed the use of poisonous gases and deadly bacteria, favors a war that is not "imperialistic"? Are we to believe that she is any more opposed to war, *as such*, than the Entente was when it opposed German militarism before the World War? Can we trust *any* government, especially one that calls itself a workers' government yet has friendly alliances with fascist and bourgeois governments? Furthermore, does this not exclude from the Congress all those who are against all wars?

We repeat again that the influence of Moscow is obvious. If Russia is preparing for any "unimperialistic" war, we and any other sane anti-militarists.

do *not* intend to be drawn into it by a government that hobnobs with fascist and bourgeois governments.

In conclusion, we wish to repeat the questions of our French comrades. Who are the organizers, and what is the true character of this Congress? We demand a clear and frank statement, especially from any group that calls upon all the workers for their support.

—o—

THE CONFERENCE being held at Ottawa, Canada, consisting of representatives of England and the other members of the British Empire, has the power to cause much harm without solving many problems. The proposed tariff wall around the empire will undoubtedly cause the erection of similar tariff walls against it. The experience of the United States points to the inevitability of such retaliation. The result will be a further decrease in world trade plus an intensification and prolongation of the depression.

The scramble for markets will probably become even more bitter than heretofore. Those who possess colonies may now take this excuse to exclude all foreign trade. Those who do not possess, being thus left in the cold, will have no choice but to gird their loins and prepare for war. The possibilities of future imperialistic wars are thus increased a thousandfold.

There is, however, one phase of this conference that we regard as significant. The friction that has arisen between England and the Dominions may be temporary; it may be overcome and forgotten by those concerned; but the forces that caused it will not forget and cannot forget. The forces are those of industrialization, which must continue to spread to the "backward" nations; which tends to make those nations self-supporting; which makes for national decentralization; which is one more step in the destruction of centralized domination.

—o—

THE A. F. OF L. has recently come out for unemployment insurance. The significance of this may be appreciated when one realizes that it has opposed such action during its entire career of about 40 years. It is an obvious attempt to get the support of the workers.

Why has it lost their support?

History shows that labor unions are much stronger in times of prosperity than during a depression. This has only one explanation so far as we can see: they are not *labor* unions; they are *capitalist* unions. By this we do not mean that they are capitalists, that they possess great wealth. We mean that they have the bourgeois philosophy of grab-what-you-can and to hell with the others.

Their solidarity extends only to other members of the same craft; their organization exists only to squeeze another dollar from the boss, and, incidentally, the workers themselves. They do not vision a new society; they hardly identify themselves with other workers in the same industry.

Consequently, concerned only with immediate benefits, their fortunes rise and fall with those of their masters.

On the other hand, were the unions organized along industrial lines, with a revolutionary philosophy instead of the current master-slave idea, we would

undoubtedly see things happening now. Such an organization would regard the struggle for immediate gains as merely incidental. Its members would never lose sight of the ultimate goal, revolution. Such an organization would not only not grow weaker during a depression, but would actually increase its strength and threaten the very foundations of capitalism in such a crisis, even as the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement is doing today in Spain.

Such an organization can be beaten only by a greater physical force. It cannot wither away because of disillusion and disgust on the part of its members, as is the case with the A. F. of L.

THE RANK AND FILE of the B.E.F. have now returned home to face a winter of privation and misery. Their harrowing experiences in the citadel of the "Land of the Free and the home of the brave" may be considered the beginning of their education. The flag-raising, rah, rah boys with the Chamber of Commerce spirit will have to learn that no amount of flag raising and saluting will "bring home the bacon." They will have to learn that a militaristic form of organization, with its abiding faith in unquestioned leadership must result in betrayal of that faith. Not even the militant elements among the rank and file were able to counteract the reactionary form of organization and oust the leader from his position as the one and only spokesman and arbiter of their destinies.

It is in the very nature of the idea of leadership that, no matter how sincere it may be at the outset, it invariably ends up in "whip-cord breeches," leather putties, rides in aeroplanes and hob-nobs with kind old ladies who have plenty of money to give away.

The B.E.F. must learn that the remedy does not lie in the change of one administration to another; it does not matter what party heads the administration; the ballot box *cannot* serve as an effective weapon with which to fight the battles of the masses. The government can only serve the interests of politicians and exploiters. Only spontaneous mass movements, based upon the principle of direct action, and the right of the masses to gain control of the industries and the fields, and to own and operate them for the common good, will bring the desired relief, and will eventually reconstruct society on a healthy basis. No khaki shirt, semi-fascist organization a la Hitler, will be the lever which will lift the masses out of their misery. Not until the rank and file of the B.E.F. learn to weld themselves with such a mass movement will they cease to be the tools and victims of politicians and would-be dictators, who befuddle the fundamental issues and play upon ignorance and prejudice.

THE liberal state of Wisconsin has closed the Experimental College of the state university. The presence of about two communists made them fear a Red uprising.

Like a cat playing with a mouse, liberals flirt with radicalism—until it threatens to free itself of their control.

IT IS NOT for nothing that Mussolini glorifies war as ennobling. Anybody sitting atop of a smoking volcano, as he is, would try to divert its force to other channels to save his pants.

DEWEY and Co. have organized the League for Independent Political Action to try to delay the fall of capitalism. They hope, by means of far-sighted political action, to prolong the existence of capitalism indefinitely.

We condemn such a group for cowardice, for fearing the results of a revolution.

We condemn such a group for callousness, for expecting such governments as ours to alleviate suffering, knowing that they act only when threatened, and are threatened only after long suffering on the part of the people.

RECENTLY, *property* has attained a greater value than *human life*, in Russia. To administer capital punishment for theft, is an old bourgeois prejudice and a step away from a *free society*.

Anarchist Communism

Continued

IN THE PREVIOUS ARTICLE, I stated that the tremendous complexity and interdependence of social life is leading to Communism.

The production of steel, for example, is dependent upon the production of iron ore, coal, machinery, railroad transportation, etc., whereas iron ore, coal, machinery or railroad transportation is impossible without the production of steel. The curtailment or suspension of operation of any industry immediately affects the others. The harmonious relationships of one industry to another are indispensable to social life. Production of any article is no longer the individual task of a single artisan, but is the task of the whole of society. The evolution of industry shows a distinct tendency toward the co-ordination and integration of human effort. This change is well illustrated in the development of agriculture.

Agriculture has long since ceased to depend upon archaic methods of cultivation. The introduction of labor-saving machinery, the great contributions of chemistry in increasing the fertility of the soil, the facilities for storing and transporting perishable foods has made possible the cultivation of tremendous areas at a minimum of human labor. Gigantic farms covering thousands of acres are too well known to require further description. The rationalization of agriculture is spelling the doom of individualized farming and is placing the industry on a par with any other in technique and efficiency.

The growth of tenant farming, the inability of the individual farmer to pay the heavy taxes and mortgages imposed by the capitalist and the state is placing the land in the hands of the bankers, leaving the dispossessed farmer in the same position as any other unemployed worker. The banking interests are establishing huge farms operating upon the principle of mass production. If a conflict of interests between the petty landed proprietor and the industrial worker exists, the antagonism is being liquidated by the rationalization of agriculture and the expropriation of the land into the hands of the self same class that controls the other basic industries.

The present development of society is due to the inter-dependence of industry.

The natural relations between producers and consumers are distorted by production for profit instead of for use. The contradiction between private ownership and monopoly, and the social nature of production is one of the principle factors in the break down of capitalism. Society must own and control industry. Society is being impelled to adopt communism as the economic form of the new society.

Production under Anarchist-Communism will be conducted by the workers themselves through their own organizations. The workers would be organized into industrial unions. The basic unit of production would be the factory council which would choose a factory committee composed of the representatives of the various departments to undertake the task of administration and co-ordination. Frequent meetings between the workers and the factory committee would give the benefit of the experience of all the workers for the better execution of the work at hand. The rotation of workers on the factory committee would develop their capacities to understand the problems of production and would preclude the possibility of any group monopolizing their functions.

The fullest amount of local autonomy would characterize each unit. The abolition of a centralized, coercive institution, and its inevitable abuse of power, the abolition of the wage system, the abolition of inequality and privilege destroys the leading motives for oppression. The factory committees would act only in an advisory capacity. No agency could be better acquainted with the needs and methods of production than those who are actually doing the work. Having no fear of being fired by the "boss," be that boss the state or a private individual, and having everything to gain by efficient administration, the workers would be compelled by their common interests, if by no other, to cooperate with one another.

The factory councils of a given industry would elect representatives to the regional federation of workers' councils in their industry. These regional councils would co-ordinate the work for that area. They would in turn choose delegates to the national and international union of their industry. The functions of these bodies would be to suggest ways and means of improving the quality or quantity of work, to establish technical schools, to gather and publish statistical material, to conduct laboratories, etc. The congress of regional or national industrial unions would, like the factory committees, act only in an advisory capacity. It would not possess the power to compel any group to abide by their suggestions any more than scientific associations can compel any of its members to accept its findings. They merely submit them for discussion. The acceptance of their conclusions depends solely upon their validity.

The present administration of industry contains many examples of the principle of the suggestive body. The association of American Engineers, the American Association of Railway Managers, Trade Associations embracing practically every phase of industry voluntarily congregate and discuss the problems affecting the administration and development of their various industries. They publish trade journals, conduct research bureaus, etc. Their findings are not binding or compulsory. They act as a clearing house of information for mutual benefit.

The actual problems of administration of industry must be differentiated

from the question of exploitation of industry. Administration requires the voluntary association of trade bodies and groups for the purpose of exchanging suggestions, and applying scientific methods to the production of commodities. The exploitive function in industry demands a rigid centralization based upon coercion. In order to exploit, it is necessary to keep the workers in ignorance, and to maintain an army of overseers whose function consists in seeing to it that the last ounce of energy is squeezed out of the workers. Workers' control and initiative cannot go hand in hand with exploitation.

The removal of exploitive functions of industry automatically increases the scope and creative impetus of the trade bodies. The energy and resourcefulness of mankind is directed toward constructive channels. It is not dissipated and warped in applying these abilities for the purpose of devising better ways of exploiting mankind. In advocating these principles, we extend the constructive tendencies in modern industry and at the same time eliminate the destructive features which are characteristic of capitalistic production.

The problem of distribution in an Anarchist-Communist Society would be successfully solved by an extensive system of consumers' societies, a network of co-operatives of all types which would reflect the myriad needs of mankind. Consumers' co-operatives would undertake the work of distribution. Agricultural co-operatives would undertake the task of supplying farm and dairy produce. The numerous class of artisans and handicraft workers which cannot fit into the general plan of a socialized industry could freely combine into artels. Housing societies, medical and health associations, etc.—each of the various co-operatives would be federated into national and international bodies similar in structure to that of the industrial unions. Local, national, and international confederations of co-operative societies would harmonize the work of the various co-operatives. Being in direct touch with the needs of the people, they would be able to accurately gauge the quantity of commodities to be consumed and would thereby supply the necessary statistics for a planned economy.

The fact that over fifty million people are now in the co-operative movement and that the movement attained such proportions in spite of the determined opposition of the state and the capitalists only serves to illustrate the vitality of the principle of voluntary association. Society is in reality nothing more than the grouping of individuals for the satisfaction of human needs. The state and the exploiter are a parasitic growth upon the social body. They are no more beneficial than a cancer.

The various organs of production and distribution meet in the free commune. The commune is the unit which reflects the interest of all. Through the commune the connection between the various associations is achieved. The commune, through its bodies, plans production to satisfy its needs. It utilizes all the resources at its command. It endeavors to eliminate waste. It is the exchange bureau wherein the particular service of each is made available to all. In the commune, the "factory hand", whose only function in capitalistic society is to turn bolt No. 29 would become a MAN. For the city and the country would combine to give each person the opportunity to achieve that balance and variety of pursuits which makes for a healthy mind. Agriculture and manufacturing would go hand in hand. The factory would move to the people instead of the people moving to the factory. The development of electricity instead of steam, in addition to the development of high tension lines through which

power can be transmitted to any section of the country, makes it possible to bring the factory to any community. Machinery can now be made available for decentralized production.

There is a tendency even in modern capitalistic society to decentralize production by establishing complete factories throughout the country. It has been proven that this method makes for greater efficiency and economy.

In an Anarchist-Communist Society the fullest extension of this principle would allow for the greatest amount of local autonomy. It would immeasurably increase the ability of the commune to become self sustaining. It would simplify and facilitate the task of co-ordination.

Anarchist-Communism is the only social theory that is all embracing. It provides for the fullest development of the best in man. Here he attains his fullest stature. He is represented as a producer in his factory or shop, as a consumer in his co-operative, as both in his commune, and as a happy creative human being in the liberty of thought and action, which only a free society can develop.

S. WEINER

(Continued in next issue)



The Futility of the Ballot

ELECTION DAY is rolling round once more. The circus is already unfolding its big tent preparatory for the annual show. This time, however, we are going to get something extra; the election of a president is involved, and the hard times promise to insert a novel touch into the usual routine.

There are four parties of national scope out to "get" the voter: the republicans, democrats, socialists, and communists. All four are going to appeal to the people, though none of them can deny their allegiance to a particular class. Thus, it is needless to say that, despite their petty bickerings, the r. p. and the d. p. represent the same propertied classes; while the s. p. and the c. p. claim to represent the workers.

Although all the parties are appealing to the People each appeal is different.

Thus, the r. p. is entering the campaign with the idea of preserving all it has won, while the d. p., which is "out" and wants to get "in," had to find some point of disagreement with them. They had to find an issue that would not hurt their economic interests, which are similar to those of the r. p., yet would attract popular attention. Prohibition was such an issue. The r. p. had straddled it, which gave them the opportunity to espouse it. For the rest, although they speak more frankly and appear more concerned over the poor worker, their stand is the same as that of the r. p.

For instance, on the question of tariffs, the r. p. does not mention the Smoot-Hawley bill; the d. p. condemns it vigorously, ignoring its own part in the tragedy. As to tariff principles, both advocate the same thing though in different terms: the r. p. is silent on the present high tariff but favors a flexible tariff with the president having the power to play with it; the d. p. merely favors a "competitive tariff for revenue." It is apparent that the only bene-

ficiaries are the manufacturers, all other elements of the country being injured by it.

The position of the bankers is assured by both parties. Both advocate a sound currency. The d. p. however, favors a rehabilitation of silver—how they expect to reconcile the two I don't know. That a slight, controlled inflation might help a preponderant debtor class is of no concern to these parties who belong heart and soul to the bankers.

Both parties protect the wealthy by ignoring the question of income and inheritance taxes. However, realizing that the mounting costs of government might involve such taxation, they favor a reduction of expenses. This, naturally, is to take place at the expense of the government employees.

Again, both parties assure our foreign investors that "we" will take care of their investments. They promise that our army and navy will always maintain the same ratio with other armies and navies that it possesses today. In other words, all the talk about arms is just—talk.

However, the politicians realize that they have to throw, or pretend to throw, a sop or two to the poor people who happen to be suffering a little. So the r. p. deserted its traditional stand and went out of its way to endorse the principle of high wages. This is, of course, very pertinent in these days of "universal employment." They also showed their radical leanings when they came out, bravely and boldly, in approval of collective bargaining by responsible representatives of employees. (This, by the way, is a vital proof of the fact that all good things come to those who wait for the ballot to bring it.)

Radical as the r. p. has been, the d. p. has gone them one better: they actually seem to favor unemployment insurance. That they only seem to, is obvious from the way they frame their plank. They favor unemployment insurance under state laws. They do not favor it as a federal law because they expect to be elected and might be held to account. However, it is valuable in that they admit that some people are unemployed today.

To say that the r. p. is entirely devoid of humanitarian feelings would be to malign them horribly. They know that some people are starving today, so they urge the creation of an emergency relief fund for temporary loans to states. However, I suppose we'll be expected to belch up our food at the end of the "temporary" period.

Being good political campaigners, neither party neglected that part of the population that has always weighed so heavily on American politics, the farmers. Both parties went out of their way to get his vote; both favored the extension of their cooperative marketing associations. The r. p. even went so far as to "pledge assistance" to them. However they left themselves an excuse for doing nothing by telling the farmer that the prices received here for agricultural products is higher than in any competing country. But they failed to mention the prices received for other types of commodities, such as machinery, here and abroad.

So we see that the r. p. and the d. p., from the goodness of their hearts, extend their aid to everybody, from the dispossessed to the dispossessors, from the farmers of the west to the financiers of the east, from the starving unemployed to the millionaires. All, all will be helped by them if given a chance. . . . Praise be to Allah!

The next party to attract the eye, from the point of view of size, is that of the socialists. They claim to really represent the workers.

At one time possessed of a semblance of revolutionary philosophy, today they do not even possess the semblance. They have become reconciled to capitalism and desire nothing better than to patch it up and make it look more presentable. Their claim is that they are being practical and want to gain immediate benefits for the workers. One can judge how practical they are when they propose charging the bankers for \$10,000,000,000 for relief. They have even less chance than Don Quixote had against the windmill.

Not concerned with going to the root of our evils, they are merely trying to apply patches wherever the sores look worst. So, realizing that people are suffering today from unemployment, they do not try to solve unemployment, to get rid of it; they merely want to soften it a little, but *to let it exist*. Granting that they are sincere in their concern about the unemployed by advocating a scheme of unemployment insurance, are we to believe that they are ignorant of the failure of similar experiments in other countries?

For the rest, they have come out like good little reformists, in favor of adherence to the World Court and entry into the League of Nations, they favor increased government control of power resources and banking, though how it will help the workers I cannot discover. In line with the Marxist tendency toward centralization, they propose to do away with the farmer's cooperative marketing associations and substitute for it a federal agency for the marketing of agricultural products. I suppose they base this plank on the wonderful success that the Farm Board has met in all its ventures.

In conclusion, let me sum up the advantages and disadvantages to be gained by supporting the above parties with the ballot. Both the r. p. and the d. p., though pretending to embrace all classes, speak quite plainly in the defense of money and money only. A worker's vote for either of them only tells them to go on robbing, beating, exploiting and murdering fellow workers.

On the other hand, the socialists do advocate some measures for the workers, but all of them are only reforms, inadequate and temporary. None solve the inconsistencies and contradictions of capitalism; none of them lead to the goal for which all radicals claim to be striving, the goal of maximum freedom and economic security.

ABE COLEMAN

The communists and their platform will be discussed in the next issue.

The Crisis in Germany

GERMANY today is facing its most acid test since the war. The threat of the reactionaries is so sharp, the opposition of the radicals so uncertain, that the imminence of a dictatorship, fascist or junker, is not considered unlikely in the near future.

In spite of the fact that the parties of reaction have arisen in recent years, their rise was so rapid, their force and influence so strong, that the so-called radical parties have almost been rushed off their feet.

And where socialists once sat in the seats of the mighty, and communists challenged as serious rivals, the junkers now sit as in former days, beset by dangerous Hitlerites.

Both the junkers and the Hitlerites spell the crushing of a militant workers' movement, if given the opportunity. Both want dictatorship—black reactionary dictatorship. Both must be feared equally by the workers.

The Junkers (militaristic aristocrats) have been following an unassuming course until now, claiming, under the leadership of Hindenburg, to be enforcing the Weimar Constitution, and desiring nothing else. However, since the elections, which resulted favorably for them if for no one else, they have come forth in their true nature. Under the pretext that no party has a working majority and therefore cannot form a cabinet, they have proceeded to establish a cabinet of their own, although they have no party. They will try to get the support of a majority in the Reichstag. However, if they cannot win such a majority, they state quite frankly that they will resort to the president's powers to issue "emergency decrees." This can hardly be called a veiled dictatorship, even though it developed along peaceful and so-called legal lines.

The course of the Hitlerites (drawn from all classes) has been of an opposite nature. From the very beginning they have pursued sensationalism. They have cried their chauvinistic cries to the high heavens so loudly and so firmly that the whole world watches their growth and development with growing uneasiness. They have never advocated much more than what an aggravated nationalism calls for, such as abolition of reparations, raising the national dignity by means of an increasing army and navy, the oppression of national minorities (in the form of exaggerated anti-semitism) and finally, the destruction of all revolutionary movements, which threaten the lives and property of those industrialists and capitalists who are interested in and support such a fascist movement.

They have sought power frankly and openly, developing their "storm troops" in the hope of eventually making a coup d'état. They have been schooled in the use of violence to such a point that today their excesses are the horror of even so war-hardened a people as those of all Europe and America.

They possess none of the subtlety of the Von Papen group, and the brutality employed by them today would probably increase a hundredfold were they to become the supreme power of the land.

What have the workers' parties done to avert this threat of these two different forces of reaction?

Of the two major workers' parties, that of the social-democrats has built up the longer, more unenviable records as betrayer of the working class. This was possible only because it is the older organization and was already in power when the communists first came into existence.

Ever since the socialists in Germany voted to support war in 1914, it has been apparent even to the most optimistic that they were anything but socialists.

When, moreover, they made their successful revolution in 1918 and failed to go the whole way, but merely fashioned an ultra-democratic constitution that permitted of the uncontrolled activity and development of the bourgeoisie, it was apparent to all but the wilfully blind that the term "socialist" no longer had any significance for the workers.

The socialists flourished and remained in office until just before the last election, but their course was that of any capitalist party that tries to remain in power by trying to reconcile the contradictions of capitalism, contradictions that were magnified many times in post war Germany. Trying to work according to capitalist rules, they were forced to take the part of the capitalists against the workers. The result has been one act of betrayal after another, one step away from their original position after another.

They began by crushing the workers' revolution early in their career, and killing Luxemburg, Liebknecht, and Landauer. They covered another milestone in their path to the right when they joined the Bruening government. Finally, last spring they joined the centrists outright and supported Hindenburg, who was opposed by the Hitlerites on the right and the communists on the left. However, in these strenuous times there was little room for democracy, so the centrists and socialists found themselves without any influence.

Their vacillating, reformistic policies have been shown up in their true light, when, even after they were deposed by Hindenburg, they continued to put their trust in bourgeois democracy and the ballot. They even appealed to the Supreme Court when they were thrown out of office. Threatened by the Hitlerites as they were, they still refused to do the only thing that might have saved the workers. They refused to use the most powerful weapon in society—the General Strike. They even refused to make use of their shock troops, which are supposed to be fully as strong as those of their opponents.

Although the communists of Germany are not guilty of the same type of betrayal of the workers as the socialists, they have committed certain injudicious, premeditated acts that turned out to be costly errors. Subject to Moscow, they have shown a lack of flexibility, as well as a lack of desire to meet certain crises, that have been detrimental to the workers. Their policies have not always smacked of pure revolution. For instance, about a year ago, the communists tried to steal Hitler's thunder by shouting, like him, "Germany for the Germans," and advocated a stronger army and navy. The above slogan said, in a negative way "do away with the Jews," against whom Hitler was at the time campaigning very heatedly. At best, they were highly nationalistic and could hardly claim to possess that spirit of internationalism required of all revolutionists.

They recently made another faux-pas that made them look ridiculous. They supported Hitler's anti-semitism explicitly when they supported his bill calling for expropriation of the Jews. They soon realized their mistake and tried to cover it up by introducing an amendment for general expropriation, which the Hitlerites, of course, turned down.

This chauvinistic spirit is an example of the opportunistic course followed by the C. P. of Germany. It has colored their action during their entire career, but never so clearly as in the recent campaign. They made two fine gestures at this time, but they remained only gestures. Once, they called for a united front with the socialists, but when the latter asked them not to insult and malign them, the c. p. did not reply; and the idea remained just an idea. The second time the c. p. issued a call for a general strike after the dictatorship had been set up in Berlin. But it is obvious that this was only a gesture, for, even though they were prevented from issuing a general call, they certainly could have

started such a resistance, with their own more than 5,000,000 communists were they really sincere in their appeal. But they were more interested in the ballot than the workers, so they preferred to neglect the possibilities of direct action.

In conclusion, we want to point once more to the outstanding criticism that can be levied against the socialists and the communists, namely, that they prefer to depend upon a bourgeois ballot rather than try to develop the potentialities inherent in an organized working class.

EDITORS

Conditions Over Spain

IN THE SHORT COURSE of this correspondence we will make an attempt to describe how anxious the Socialist Government is to have the C.N.T. (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo) and the F.A.I. reduced to impotence. Being aware of its strength and fighting ability, it has been a permanent desire of the Cabinet, since the declaration of the Republic, to bring the Confederation into politics, in order to have some control upon it. But the Spanish working class is convinced that, in order to attain better conditions, they must fight for them, and that anything left to the politicians, is never gained for the workers.

As soon as the Socialist Government found the impossibility of throwing the lace around the neck of the workers they decided to use every possible means to eliminate the confederation.

At the same time, the workers were thinking of taking advantage of the fact that the Government had not solidified its basis, in order to better their conditions as much as possible. It was at this time that we saw local and general strikes declared everywhere. In many places the peasants took possession of the land. When the land owners complained about this, Civil Guards were sent to the scene; but they limited their actions to taking note of what happened.

Because the Government had promised the Spanish capitalists and landlords that their property would be respected, and because they were aware of the fact that the members of the U. G. T. (Union General de Trabajadores, a labor organization under the control of the Socialist Party) were deserting because they saw that the syndicalists were getting better results with their direct action; the Government decided to remedy the situation. So they invented the now famous Law of Exceptions, or the Law of Defense of the Republic. Then the socialists got what they wanted all the time. Jails were filled with anarchists and syndicalists. The law was also intended for sympathizers of the monarchy, but there is not a single case in which it was strictly applied to any reactionary offender. On the contrary, when the workers of Llobregat thought that the time had arrived to declare the abolition of the exploiting class, and to install libertarian communism (the Bolsheviks should not confuse the term), and took control of that mining region for a week, the government ordered wholesale deportations to Africa. Many of the deported comrades have not returned so far, and one of them, Vicente Solé, died on the way.

The F.A.I. (Federacion Anarquista Iberica) was persecuted with the same ferocity as the Confederation. It may be of interest to mention that, while the

Confederation is assumed to be composed of workers of all different tendencies and creeds who want to fight for better conditions, the F.A.I. is composed of militant anarchists.

Regarding the persecutions I should like to quote the anarchist weekly *Tierra Y Libertad* in the edition corresponding to July 15 which says indignantly that since the proclamation of the Republic there were 300 workers murdered on the streets; more than one hundred deported to Guinea (one hundred and twenty-six was the number deported on the Buenos Aires) and more than 5000 thrown into miserable dungeons, and all by order of the Socialist Government.

But now let us analyze briefly the Government's policy toward the real enemies of the working class and the Cabinet.

We know of no occasion in which the Law of Exceptions has been applied to the royalists or religious fanatics. The president of the "Republic of Workers" was minister to the Crown at one time. Actually he has a chapel in his own home, goes to church every day and makes his confession every Sunday.

While the Spanish laborers hate the Roman Catholic Church, the ruling classes are clinging to it as one way of covering their own hypocrisy. They stick to the church and the Civil Guards; they must do it, as it is the only defense they have in the country.

We may refer to a meeting which took place in Ovideo just a few days ago, which was organized by the Radical Socialist Party. Alvaro Albornoz, Minister of Justice, addressed the religious classes and said that the Government was not persecuting the catholics or their economic interests. He mentioned the fact that there were 480 million pesetas which the church had accumulated through religious services which the Government had respected completely. The Archbishop of Toledo is receiving one-half million pesetas annually, he said. The Church is not being annoyed by the Government. Nor is it stopped in its religious processions, the minister ended.

Now there you have it, comrade reader. The church has a free hand, while the syndicates of the Confederations are being padlocked every day all over the country. Anarchist and syndicalist periodicals and dailies are being suspended every day and the editors jailed. The Censor is busy aiding the reactionary Government so much that the editors of *El Luchador* (anarchist paper) decided to suppress their own weekly; they would not print the paper to please the Censor only.

All this will no doubt, accelerate a tremendous revolution which will abolish privilege, destroy capitalism and the Church, and will put the National wealth in the hands of those who produce all. At the same time, a state of society will be inaugurated where equality and justice for all will exist, without recurring to any dictatorship, which is the shame of the so-called civilized world.

V. MARTINEZ

SACCO - VANZETTI MASS MEETING

MONDAY, AUGUST 22, AT 8:00 P. M.

14TH ST. AND UNION SQUARE

Prominent Speakers

"AND HIS SOUL KEEPS MARCHING ON"

ON FRIDAY, JULY 22, Errico Malatesta breathed his last in a world permeated with political and economic chaos. He suffered exile from nearly every nation in Europe and America; sacrificed a brilliant career; fought in and organized many uprisings, strikes and protest meetings against tyranny and capitalism; and he tasted the bitterness and inhumanity of prison cells, which resulted in his physical illness.

Malatesta was born in Santa Marie, December 4, 1853. At the age of 19, revolutionary activities attracted him. He then succeeded in entering the circle of super-revolutionaries, the Bakuninites. They soon recognized his abilities, when, despite his youth, he shouldered responsibilities like a veteran. Prison, and then exile, followed his first attempt to free Italy from her bondage. All the other nations of Europe, except England, copied Italy and treated him the same way. So he wandered from country to country, organizing groups and uprisings. At last, in 1919, upon the declaration of amnesty in Italy, he was brought back through the machinations of a Genoese captain, only to fall, soon after, a prey to reactionary fascism.

Malatesta believed in Anarchist-Communism, in the organization of federations of autonomous groups, in Anarcho-Syndicalism, and in direct action. He had no faith in Dictatorial Communism or in Parliamentary Socialism. Although Malatesta is dead his message to the toiling masses will continue to live. His profound understanding and uncanny foresight makes his prophetic speech of 1896 true today as never before:

"Property will never be touched unless those who attack it proceed over the bodies of its defenders—the gendarmes. For these reasons we are against all government, even those of the social democrats (socialists and communists—Ed.). The gendarmes of Bebel, Liebknecht, and Jaures (Stalin, Macdonald, or the Spanish Socialist Republicans—Ed.) always remain gendarmes. Whoever controls them will always be able to keep down and massacre the proletariat. So we will give this power to nobody—neither to the social democrats, nor to ourselves; for none in such a position could become anything but canailles (scamps). . . . Emancipate yourselves by organizing your own forces, and you shall be free. But if you expect your liberation from any government—be it of a charitable bourgeois, be it of social democrats—you will forever be lost."

"And his soul keeps marching on."

